5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

travelling, I knew a woman to halt, give birth to a child, and catch up with the camp inside of four hours.

As a rule, children are hardy and vigorous. They are allowed to do about as they please from the time they are able to walk. I have often seen them playing in winter in the snow, and spinning tops on the ice, barefooted and half-naked. Under such conditions, those which have feeble constitutions soon die. Only the hardiest reach maturity and old age.

It is said that very long ago the people made houses of mud, sticks, and stones. It is not known what was their size or shape, and no traces of them are known to have been found. For a very long time, the lodge seems to have been their only dwelling. In ancient times, before they had knives of metal, stones were used to hold down the edges of the lodge, to keep it from being blown away. These varied in size from six inches to a foot or more in diameter. Everywhere on the prairie, one may now see circles of these stones, and, within these circles, the smaller ones, which surrounded the fireplace. Some of them have lain so long that only the tops now project above the turf, and undoubtedly many of them are buried out of sight.

Lodges were always made of tanned cowskin, nicely cut and sewn together, so as to form an almost perfect cone. At the top were two large flaps, called ears, which were kept extended or closed, according to the direction and strength of the wind, to create a draft and keep the lodge free from smoke. The lodge covering was supported by light, straight pine or spruce poles, about eighteen of which were required. Twelve cowskins made a lodge about fourteen feet in diameter at the base, and ten feet high. I have heard of a modern one which contained forty skins. It was over thirty feet in diameter, and was so heavy that the skins were sewn in two pieces which buttoned together.

An average-sized dwelling of this kind contained eighteen

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Values of the Indian-Oriented Group

183 177 The characteristics valued by the traditional Blackfeet, mentioned in Chapter 3, still persist in attenuated form. The changing conditions of life have required, however, that new avenues for their expression be found. At first glance such things as bravery, skill, wisdom, and generosity appear to be characteristics that would be valued by the average American. In order to understand how Indian-oriented and white-oriented definitions of these differ, it is necessary to recognize that since the life goals of the two groups are not the same, the premises from which value judgments are made are not the same.

The white-oriented values were seen to be consistent with the national economy and culture, and sufficiently integrated with these to be both vehicles to individual prestige and expressions of national goals. White Americans and white-oriented Blackfeet work toward their own and the nation's security, and to build a better future for their children.

As was shown in Chapter 4, the Indians had little choice but to accept the economic system of the dominant society and were pressed to accept the white values that went with it. To date the Indian-oriented, in general, have experienced little economic success and, perhaps because of this, have not adopted the values. In turn, the persistence of traditional values has contributed, in part, to this lack of economic success. This will be examined later. It is assumed that the present values of the Indian-oriented are the result of both persistence of traditional traits and new interpretations of these developed during the attempts at economic readaptation.

183 177 186 Because the Indian-oriented have developed no expectancy of success in the white man's economy, they have become neither imbued with the associated values nor committed fully to white goals. Instead they appear to have made more explicit what was once an implicit life goal of Indian society—to retain their ethnic identity. I make this inference from statements about "keeping the old ways alive," "showing the young people the things from the past," and from the attachment people show to bundles, regalia, doing Indian craft and art work, and other "Indian" symbols. The major common goal, hence a prime value, of the Indian-oriented society is to be *Indian*, and the present value judgments can be understood best as they relate to this goal. To illustrate this relationship, values are isolated that in reality are intricately interdependent.

183 177 *Individualism*, a valued characteristic in the old culture, is highly valued today. The Indian is concerned with individual achievement, social acceptance, increased prestige, and higher status, interests he shares with the white-oriented, but the expression of these values by individuals of the two orientations differs in light of their separate goals.

183 855 858 [861] The differences show up clearly in the way that Indian-oriented parents tend to treat their children. Ideally, children are seen as little individuals whose rights and wishes should be respected. They should be guided and directed, but not forced into doing things. Indian parents think that white people are being cruel when they spank their children; teasing and ridicule are acceptable correctives.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tives. Children are wanted, loved but not coddled; no elaborate concern is expressed when they get bumps. Injuries are cared for, assurances given, and then everybody's attention turns to other things.

Babies and young children go wherever their parents go, with little concern shown about feeding and sleeping schedules. Children are at most public gatherings and play about quite freely regardless of the occasion. At one political rally I was sitting behind a young couple who were letting their son play with his father's keys. The rattling of the keys often made it hard to hear what was said, but nobody objected. Several times the keys fell to the floor with a loud clatter. I thought, hopefully, that that would end the game, but each time the father picked up the keys and gave them back to his son. I interpreted this to mean that the child's interests were as important as anyone else's.

A mother might suggest several times that her child share a toy with another, but the matter is dropped if the child is persistent in refusing. Children make many such decisions for themselves, because it is their right to do so. If they get too far out of line they will be ridiculed. This attitude continues throughout their lives. A school official told me about his frustration when a bright young student decided, against his urging, not to go to college. The boy's father was easily convinced and offered to push the case with his son, but returned several days later to report that he had tried. His son had said no, he did not want to go. That ended the matter. White-oriented men reported that their fathers rarely took no for an answer.

Present-day Indian-oriented people still have the strong emotional commitment to their name and self-image that was an attribute of the Blackfeet in the horse and buffalo days. Indian and white informants alike mention jealousy as a strong Indian personality trait and blame this for the inability of the Indian-oriented group to unite in support of any specific program. This self-concern perpetuates shame and gossip as powerful agents of social control. Other contrasting interpretations of individualism become apparent in later descriptions of the requisites for status within the Indian-oriented group.

Bravery, once manifest in war, hunting, and horse raiding, remains a valued characteristic. Ewers noted this in Blackfeet patriotism and their response to World Wars I and II. Many young men enlisted, the relatives of many honored them at a feast, and old men sang war songs and prayed for their success (Ewers 1955:322; 1958:324). Blackfeet continue to serve in our overseas conflicts. But in modern life the opportunities for achieving distinction by the regular exhibition of bravery are limited. This quality contributes to success in occasional fights, sports, and rodeos, and in some kinds of employment—the ranch hand and the fire fighter often have their bravery tested. But it is no longer a chief requisite for economic and social achievement. Other attributes are given greater recognition.

Skill is important today. Because Indian identification is the goal, abilities that contribute to this end are valued by the Indian-oriented; dancing, singing, art, crafts, and oratorical skills are recognized as important to the expression of ethnic identity. Several women are well known for their leather and beading work; the Blackfeet Art Association furthers the work of many tutored and untutored wood carvers and painters.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Blackfoot camps. "When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner."[7] However, this severe punishment for infidelity was discontinued by the middle 1870's.[8]

Stormy as their marital lives sometimes were, Blackfoot Indians were fond and indulgent parents. Large families were common. Some men claimed to have fathered more than a score of children by their several wives. The pregnant woman wore a broad, adjustable rawhide belt as her time approached. It supported and protected her when she rode horseback or engaged in active work. Sometimes an expectant mother's labor pains came while she was riding with a moving camp. She dropped out of the line of march and two or three hours later returned to the caravan with her newborn babe in her arms. Usually, however, the birth took place in a tipi. An elderly woman, experienced in midwifery, gave the mother a decoction of roots to drink to ease her pains and facilitate delivery. While the mother grasped one of the lodge poles and an assistant held her around the waist the midwife attended to the delivery, then laced the mother in her rawhide belt. Sometimes the mother resumed her household chores the next day.

A portion of the baby's navel cord was cut, dried, and preserved in a beaded buckskin case as the child's primitive health insurance. The cases for boys' navel cords were in the form of snakes; girls' were lizard-shaped. The Blackfeet believed that snakes and lizards were never sick and lived long lives. The child was bathed and wrapped in soft skin. Moss or a soft punk served in lieu of diapers.

A few days after the birth the father called upon some distinguished member of his band to name the child. The name was carefully chosen because it was believed to have an important influence on the child's life. Sometimes it was the name of a respected ancestor; at other times it commemorated a brave or generous act of the bestower or of the child's father. Lazy

[7] *Travels*, II, 110, 117, 136.
[8] Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. IX, 271.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

342
133

HOMESTEAD 1939

291
855
302

GRANDMOTHER FEEDS
HER GRANDDAUGHTER

251
417

DRYING BEEF

[p.44-A]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

593 while their great-aunt struck their father with a tent-pin when he ordered
578 her off his land. They heard their mother accuse her near-relative of sexual indiscretions; they joined their usually mild grandmother as she threw stones at her sister-in-law's departing car.

152 There can be little doubt that children are sensitive to such violent
593 exhibitions, but their reactions vary considerably from situation to situation and from child to child. They may stand by seemingly unmoved, or they may join the fray with considerable enjoyment. They may shriek in fear, as the Pointed Plume children did the night their father and his brother fought so furiously. They may cry continuously, as the Dennis children did at school, because their parents' quarrels had frightened them
[115] so that they didn't want to return home while their father was there. Annie Curtis, a dignified informant of thirteen, gave it as her considered opinion that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys."

857 This may well be so. Training and social sanctions make it easy for the
858 boy to escape an uncongenial home situation. At an early age he learns to ride a horse, at ten he is expected to help his father on the range or in the field. His frequent absences from home cause little comment. Two independent males, one eight, one eleven, laughed at us when we suggested that they tell their mother we were taking them for a swim. Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house. They tend their little brothers and sisters; they learn to cook, to sew, to do beadwork. Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when
[593] they stay out over night, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work
[578] and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental
[155] quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of today, but as the cruelly beaten wives of tomorrow.

593 Frequently there is no way for boy or girl to avoid an unpleasant scene;
591 but whenever possible, a child will seek a refuge—for a short time if the
578 trouble blows over quickly—for years if it does not. Nellie Bending-Branch lives with her grandmother because her parents quarrel so much. May Big Water has spent most of her days at her grandmother's largely because her father and stepmother fought so frequently. Pointed Plume's adopted "favorite" returned to her own parents when he and his wife quarrelled seriously before separation.

[855] At times, a child is the terrified observer of parental conflict; at times, he is the unhappy victim of parental cruelty. Not infrequently, upon the remarriage of a mother, the children will remain with their grandparents, "because their stepfather might not be good to them." Stepmothers were viewed with equal misgivings, and not without cause. But there are also cases of children so mistreated by an own mother or father, that they have to be rescued by more compassionate, if more distant relatives.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 1832;[197] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimized the passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particularly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resentment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she had spent eleven years as a *minipoka* in his household, that she remain with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another, speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minipoka* (she had been adopted by her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostentatiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi-

[197] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 252.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Blood

tate to enter a household where she is considered a "distant wife." In most instances, an aunt who has weathered the domestic storms of the early years of marriage, or a grandmother or great-aunt are the preferred relatives.

Adoption brings renewed hope of security to those children who have been orphaned or deserted, for the society deals none too kindly with these unfortunate ones. Frequently, they become slaveys in the families that take them in. Rarely, if ever, do they have an opportunity to make a "good" marriage. Once adopted, however, their status is immediately improved. They take their chances with the rest of the children. Some, like the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, may even be made an honored favorite. All expect to share in the family wealth.

Primarily, however, adoption serves the advantage of the older generation. A childless pair may take as their own the child of a fecund couple in the hope that then their union will be similarly blessed; or, having lost a loved one in death, the sad parents may feel that their only consolation lies in substitution. But to the question, "Why do you adopt children?" a Blood will most often answer, "We adopt children so someone will take care of us in our old age." And so important is this old age insurance that a poor child will be sought in preference to one with property: "If a child has property, he will leave us when he grows up." In this competitive society, the old have little confidence that the man of property will share it with them, even if he is an adopted son.[198]

The child, who probably never felt too secure at home, is now separated from his parents when he is six or eight and placed in one of the two sectarian boarding schools on the reservation. If his home is nearby, he may have visitors but most of the children, at least in the winter months, have little if any contact with their relatives. Some remain at school the year round. For all, however, it is a partial break with Blood tradition and culture.

Ironically enough, in this increasingly individualistic society, it is these boarding schools that offer the most extended experience in joint living and cooperation. Among other things, they have encouraged the girls to take *taka*. But their general emphasis is so contrary and their strict authoritarianism so foreign to the normal patterns of Blood life that their socializing influence is negligible. To a few children they have been havens from abuse or family discord, but even those who have benefited most from prolonged schooling (because they were poor or orphaned) suit their behavior in later life, not to their teachers' precepts, but to their social station.

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[198] K. A. Wittfogel (*Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Entwicklung der Familienautorität*, pp. 491, 506) points out that lack of security in old age is frequent in societies where the satisfaction of basic needs depends on "physical strength" rather than on "careful thought and accumulated experience."

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

According to this practice the two must co-operate, though authority is vested in the elder, especially if he is the wife's brother.[1] In case of dissatisfaction the younger is free to move to another more generous person.

As adjacent land becomes available, the younger may apply to the agent for these fields in order that he himself, having learned the techniques of farming, may become self-sufficient. The location of houses in small clusters of three and four at mile intervals along many of the reserve roads provides opportunity for groups of relatives and in-laws to live adjacently. Having been granted occupancy of a neighbouring house, the junior family may move there. Obligation of mutual help continues, though there is greater independence than formerly. Mutual help on the fields of one's relatives may be expected, and there will be exchanges of gifts, though no actual division of income.

Expanding such groups still further are the older people who frequently come to live in the same house with or in a house near to their children. Kinship obligations require caring for the indigent, as we have noted previously.[2] The practice of "bringing up" children of relatives adds further potential members to the original family. This practice is distinct from adoptions where the foster parents conceal the fact of adoption from the child. In "bringing up" a child, a middle-aged man and his wife merely take a grandchild to live with them. Having brought up a family themselves and having a "vacant" house with the unmarried children away in boarding-school, many people feel lonely and ask their relatives for children. These children then live with and are supported by their grandparents, though they frequently spend several days or weeks with their own parents also. Both "bringing up" a child and adoption occur with considerable frequency.

Thus the individual family is variously expanded on the reserve today by the addition of siblings, certain in-laws, the aged, and children. Numerous clusters of houses show such patterns of relationships. In one of a group of four houses lives an old widow with her grandchildren whom she is "bringing up" for her son-in-law. Next to her lives her sister's son and his family; by Blackfoot reckoning this man is her "son." Across the road, a stone's throw away, live her true son and his children, one of whom is married

[1] Cf. p. 72.
[2] Cf. p. 86.

824 262 Rosa spp.

Rose hips, termed "wild tomatoes", could be crushed and added to pemmican.

Rubus parviflorus

The ripe fruit of this "red berry tasts" was eaten.

Salix spp.

The cambium was scraped and eaten, especially by children. The galls on some river willows were peeled and eaten and were said to be quite tasty.

Selaginella densa

A starving man would not eat the plant because it had a doping effect, making one feel unusually strong. For this apparent effect, the plant was [263] called "feels chest". The plant was also dried and used to spice meat.

"Nanasokchi" (Shepherdia argentea?)

The berries, which were very bitter, were eaten only through necessity and never stored.

Shepherdia candensis

[261] Even though they were bitter, the berries were eaten in lean times.

Thalictrum occidentalis

[263] The fruit of "Gros Ventre smell" were used to spice pemmican, dried meat and broths.

Veratrum viride

The young leaves of "bitter tastes" or "blue leaves" were added to soups.

[855] Children were given the leaves to chew and they would stop their drooling.

"Yellow berries"

These berries were collected along the coulees and eaten fresh.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

since our grandfather lived to be ninety-seven. 000

My grandmothers have always been close to their grandchildren even to this day. It is common for the grandparents 603 to keep one of their grandchildren and raise it. One of our sons is living with my parents in this way. He and my father were both born on the same day, January 9, and they both have the same first name, Edward. Traditional closeness between elders and grandchildren gave kids an exposure to the same values their parents were raised by. It also gave kids a 603 lot of attention, which many modern children seem to be 855 sadly lacking. If the mother and father of a crying child were busy, there was usually a grandmother or grandfather nearby who would find out what was wrong. As a result, it is not our [861] custom to spank children, although it was occasionally done. This extra attention helps to explain how parents handled half a dozen or more small children inside their crowded tipis on long cold winter days and nights. The elders told stories, played games, and otherwise helped to occupy the minds of the children.

When I was young I used to take my little brother to the 604 home of my father's uncle, because his wife would tell us old-time stories. She was a real good storyteller, and we didn't mind walking several miles across the prairie to visit her as well as our cousins there. She would keep us entertained for hours. I can just imagine how it would have been if we had still been living in our old-time tipi camps, with aunts and uncles and grandparents all within short walking distance.

Old widows who were alone in the past were often given 768 an orphaned child by some relative. Any small child that lost 589 its mother was taken over by a relative, usually the grandmother. My grandmother's first husband, Joe Beebe, was 768 raised in this way. His mother died during childbirth, so her 603 mother raised him. This old lady would take him around to [853]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

some things, the parents would always tell them things like: "Don't go away from the tipi or the wolf will come and take you." They said: "Don't go around at night because that's when the ghosts are out and they will come for you." Things like this kept the little kids right close to home. If the mother had to go somewhere on foot, she would carry along her toddler wrapped in a blanket and worn on her back. Compared to modern mothers, my grandmothers really indulged in their children. The kids grew up in the midst of the daily household, so they learned family values and customs naturally.

My grandmother told me the following story about her childhood:

"I was the youngest of my mother's children. She wanted us to grow old, so she encouraged us to follow her advice. She taught us from the start to respect old people. Because my father was a medicine man we had a lot of old people as visitors. Sometimes my mother would give me a piece of meat and tell me, 'Go ask that old lady to chew your food for you.' This would be some special old lady—one with a lot of power to doctor or put up Sun Dances. She would chew my meat and then give it to me to swallow. This was a blessing for me, just like getting part of her life. Whenever we had any spare change we were taught to give it to old people like that.

"Because a lot of holy people always came to visit my father we were taught not to fool around near them. These people who have spiritual powers are required to follow a lot of rules. We were never allowed to pass in front of them, especially if they were smoking. These were the rules and we never thought to question them. My father painted his children and his grandchildren, and he prayed for them, so that no harm would come to them in case they passed in front of him accidentally or did something else against the rules.

159
Lighter's Staff, and the Blackfoot Rider's Staff. 852
[George only painted for some of these Bundles.] 778
In one day I took four Medicine hats. My face 425
was painted and wiped and then repainted again, [302]
four times, as I went through four ceremonies in one day. [He means that when he was young, four different Medicine headdresses were transferred to him in one day. Thus, his parents spoiled [855]
their only child in a socially acceptable way.]

My father's name was Dog Child. My mother's name was The Only Handsome Woman; her 551
other name was Catching Another Horse, but she 553
was never called by that name. She was one of 159
three sisters, and her mother said she was the only handsome woman. So that became her name. My father's name used to be Singing Amongst, but he changed that. My name was given to me from the war deeds of my uncle, Striped Wolf. He was the first one to ride a horse taken from the enemy. So I got the name First Rider. I didn't have the same name with my father. [Most of our People today carry the names of former relatives as their inherited family names. But they also have one or more personal, Indian names by which they are referred to in the Blackfoot language.]

159
I was born with long hair. My mother used 856
Indian perfume—boiled cedar needles—to wet [302]
my hair. That is why I got long hair.

I must have been about five years old when I [824]
was able to go riding on my own.

159
When I was a little boy I was taken to the [857]
Holy Lodge. I had two grandmothers [older female [852]
relatives, not necessarily biological grandmothers].
They each one gave me a Sun Dance necklace, [602]
my childhood property. I must have been eight [431]
years old when a horned Medicine headdress was given to me.

When I was thirteen years old I started riding 883
racehorses. I was sixteen years old when I started 526
to learn bronc riding. But soon my father made 159
me quit. He said, "There is no future in it. It is [829]
the white man's life. An Indian will compete in a

time." He went on his most notorious raid with the late Henry Standing Alone. They were discovered trying to steal horses and a gunfight followed, but no one was seriously hurt. 721 [784]

NinnaOnesta transferred his last Horns Bundle during the Sun Dance last year. He said he had had it for thirty-two years. He has also been a member of the Horns Society five times. "Being a Medicine Pipe Owner and belonging to the Horns both brought me a lot of happiness. They are both the same to me. You can see how many children and grandchildren I have around me. They were all raised safely because we took good care of our holy things. We raised our kids by them." 778 575 [855]

All winter long he looks forward to the return of Thunder. "I really enjoy Medicine Pipe ceremonies. I wait with happiness for Thunder to come so that I can get ready for the Pipe dances again. I really feel good going to them." He owned one Medicine Pipe Bundle for "many years." He said it was "the one that crazy Black Plume kid sold to that white man that's trying to get all our holy things away from us." 796 778 [439]

NinnaOnesta and his wife would like to see the Old Ways kept up properly by the young. "These young people that are trying to follow the Indian Way. It is very good. There is nothing at all wrong with it. It is very good for them." Asked if he had any advice to offer to young people, he replied; "If one of them will come to me for advice, I will tell them how to live. But no one has come to me, so far." 829

BOB BLACK PLUME

Apikayi, or "Skunk," is a short, little man in his mid-seventies who has a smile and handshake for anyone who passes him. Some of our People refer to him as "the preacher," because he is involved in all sorts of religious affairs, from Horns Society to Full Gospel and the Catholic Church. Perhaps to suit that title, he is usually well dressed in a 793 [291]

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

cepting for the sons of the rich—and they were a decided minority—skill in hunting and warfare and courage in the face of danger were the musts for survival. In a word, self-reliance was the aim and basis of training.

And self-reliance was as necessary inside the home as outside it. Not that the Blood lacked affection for their offsprings, or a desire to support them. Many observers have commented most positively on both these traits. But the dependence on the hunt and war for food and gain, the frequent movings from place to place, made the rearing of children a difficult matter. Many stories are told of newborn infants "thrown away," left to die in the bushes, either because they could not be cared for on the march, or because raiders might hear their cries and thus be led to the camping ground, or because a mother had died in childbirth (the lot of the orphan, and even the half-orphan, was, and still is, far from enviable).

It was also considered desirable to limit the number of children. Two years was the standard interval, but the longer the time between siblings, the more parents demonstrated their love for the child previously born. Moreover, abortion carried no stigma. Magic help for this purpose could be easily secured from an authorized female practitioner, and as a special favor, a stop could be put to childbearing altogether. Revealingly, barrenness is never given as a cause for divorce in this competitive society where women are highly prized as property and sex objects, and where marriage is notoriously unstable.

The hunt and war often and for extended periods took the Blood father away from home. And these absences, however necessary, were a continual threat to a child's security. For whether justified or not, and frequently he was justified, a husband was quick to suspect that "the worst" had happened while he was gone.[21] A child often heard his mother accused of adultery, often saw her beaten, and not infrequently deserted. Whatever the ultimate solution of familial disagreement, the child invariably was the sufferer. Even if his parents remained together, he often sought refuge with a nearby relative to avoid further scenes of violence. If they separated and he went with his mother, as he usually did if he was still "young," his sense of belonging might be rudely disturbed again. For often when his mother remarried, she left him with

[21] Among the Blood jealousy was and is obsessional. Many a husband approaching his end threatened to kill his wife, for only if she accompanied him on his final journey would he be sure that he alone would possess her in the next world. The only Blood confined to an insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a grandmother, aunt, or older sister "because a stepfather might not treat him right."

To some degree the extended family structure, the close camp living, and the satisfactions found in agemates (the age grades were the strongest expression of solidarity in Blood society) cushioned the threat. But, however viewed, the emotional and even at times physical support that a child could expect from his parents or any other adult was limited indeed.

And the supernaturals were hardly more reliable—at least not those to whom one might appeal for personal aid. When a young man went out alone at night to some far-off place to seek a guardian spirit—in almost all instances, a male being, Old Man Sun, Morning-star, Rock Man or some animal—he did not feel that "strong" medicine would be his if only he followed a prescribed ritual, as was the case in the pueblos of the Southwest. Instead, the Blood youth appealed for "pity." And the supernaturals, like his nearest of kin, were unpredictable. True, if the quest succeeded, prestige would be enhanced, and after some years, material advantage also. But many a supplicant, even after repeated effort, failed to get a "vision" and the power that depended on it.

In this insecure and competitive setting, the institution of "the favorite" emerged, not as an expression of fatherly love but, as the Blackfoot word, *minipoka*, "child of plenty," makes explicit, first and essentially as a way of demonstrating wealth—a way no different from the taking of a second, third, or fourth wife, the owning of expensive pipes or bundles, the possession of a tipi made of eighteen or twenty skins.

There was only one accepted criterion for having a "favorite"—enough wealth to make continual validations in his name. Thus neither the number of the child nor its sex was a consideration, but while a girl could be a *minipoka*, more often it was a boy who was so honored. And the rich man had as many favorites as he could afford. Some said they wanted to treat their children alike, some that they wanted to show how rich they were.

The process began at birth. The favorite was placed on a weasel or otter skin—the poor man's child slept in a buckskin bag. The favorite was "initiated" to many ceremonial privileges—protective paintings, forelocks, charms, pipes, partnerships in a society like the Horns while he was still in his teens. Give-aways were held in his name, and any gift made to him was quickly repaid and usually with interest.

The favorite was fed first and with the choicest morsels. He was

the children without a home. Generally the children, especially the infants, follow their mother, either back to her parents' home or into a new marriage. But the new husband does not always welcome his wife's children and a problem is created. 586 593 [587]

This apparently casual attitude towards children would suggest there is little concern for their welfare, that they might be regarded as more or less unwelcome hinderances to their parents' activities. It would be interesting to know the degree to which their presence influences the decision of their parents to separate or to remain together. Probably very little, since no child goes uncared for. Children may sometimes be regarded as nuisances by the younger people, but among the older folk they are definitely desired. They frequently express the wish to have young children about and this is, in a large measure, substantiated by the number of people who take their grandchildren to raise, although not always to adopt. It is felt that a person with no children will have no one to care for him in his old age. It is said that an adopted child knows what has been done for him and out of gratitude will assume more care for his foster parents than will their own children. 855 597 [855] [858]

Nearly half the households on the reserve have children living with them that were not born there. The frequency with which children are sent to live outside their own immediate family is quite noticeable. Here I should like to mention my reluctance to rely upon statistics to emphasize my points. I have a record of about 50 cases that may be considered definite adoptions, to which may be added at least 12 doubtful cases. To these are again added 20 or more even more doubtful cases, which may be just prolonged visits by a child to relatives. The 50 cases of adoption cover those of which people are aware, but I do not doubt that there are many more that have long since been forgotten. In the minds of the community the adopted children soon merge with the rest of the family. 597 597 128

Three main categories can be distinguished within this general pattern of mobility. First of all are cases where a child is visiting relatives. These visits may be of prolonged or short duration and vary in frequency. It may be a case of grandparents looking after the child while there is trouble at home between the parents, because there are too many small children to be cared for there, or for no other reason than that it is nice to visit elsewhere. 855 597

Second, there is a more permanent situation which still cannot be included under adoption. It is distinguished from the latter by the Blood under the term *raising*. There is a good deal of confusion between the two, even conflicting information on individual cases as to whether such a one is a raising or an adoption. An examination of the details of the relationship does not always settle the question. However, broadly speaking, a raising is less permanent than an adoption. The responsibility for raising a child is most frequently assumed by close relatives, usually grandparents. The child goes to live with another family but does not sever connections with its own, nor does it assume the mother-father kinship terms for the couple who are raising him. Relatives will say to each other, "I will raise up a child for you and when he comes to school age you can take him back."

There are several cases of children being adopted and in later years returning to their own parents. One boy was adopted by his father's cousin (F M Si D) with whom he lived for about seven years. Then his father and his foster mother quarreled and he took the child back to live with him since he had married again and now had a home. A similar situation occurred when a foster father sent a child to the Catholic school and his Protestant father objected, using this as an excuse to remove the boy. He felt that he was not getting the proper care since the foster father was always drinking.

Are these to be considered adoptions or raisings? Apparently the arrangements were considered permanent when first established. At any rate it can readily be seen that adoptions and raisings cannot easily be separated. Situations that are presumably definite can suddenly change from one to the other. Therefore it appears that the ultimate criterion of whether it can really be called an adoption or a raising lies in the degree of permanence of the new relationship and the amount of contact between the child and the parents he is supposed to have left. But even this is not infallible.

Last of the three main categories are the adoptions, and these, too, can be divided into types. Blackfoot adoptions fall into four main overlapping divisions. First of all, and most numerous, are the adoptions which occur when a child presents a problem created by some disturbing situation in its home, the death of a parent, their separation, or an overcrowded household. At such a time someone who wants a

child in their home will come forward and adopt it. 855 597

Second, there are the adoptions in which the grandparents take the eldest child and assume full responsibility for it. It is this group that is with most difficulty distinguished from raisings.

Third, there are occasions when a child or adult is adopted in order to replace a deceased relative. This may often be, especially among adults, on the basis of actual physical resemblance. Closely allied to this type is that in which the special "friend" of the deceased is taken for adoption. In these circumstances the adopted person maintains a close relationship with the foster parents, but does not relinquish his place in his own family. 597

Lastly, there is a less tangible reason for adoption, but one frequently expressed, which involves some sympathetic relation of cause and effect. If a woman has been losing all her children she may go to another woman who has been more successful and beg her to take her own baby so that it may have a chance of survival. Conversely, a woman who has had no children will adopt a child and after that she is supposed to start having some of her own. Actually this is not borne out by the facts, but this does not appear to alter the conviction that it is so. One instance is recognized where bad luck in raising children was not forestalled by an adoption. But this is explained on the grounds that it was a white child from off the reservation that was taken. [854] [761] [842]

When there is a child in an unfortunate situation someone with one of these reasons in mind is certain to come forward to assume the responsibility of looking after it. Along with sympathy for the child is a real desire to have it. Circumstances are extremely important in governing an adoption, but the children are taken because they are wanted and not just because these circumstances thrust them upon the foster parents. The two things, the desire for the child and the need of the child for a home, work side by side.

Before going on to the general aspects of adoption I should make further mention of the occasions when the expressed desire is to replace a deceased relative. This may concern either a child or an adult. A man or a woman will see in some younger person a physical resemblance to a child who has died. If it is a child that has caught their attention it will not likely leave its own parents. There will be visiting back and forth and 000

if necessary someone is sure to look after them. 597

Boarding schools have introduced a new factor into this question of age. If separation or death of its parents occurs once the child is in school the need for a home is not so pressing, and the boy or girl can usually be accommodated with relatives for the holidays without phrasing it as an adoption. It is also possible to remain in the care of the school throughout the year. 155 597 586 768

Children in the great majority of cases go to relatives for adoption, although the relationship may be remote. These are often relatives acquired through adoption the previous generation. The families to which these children go are almost equally divided between the relatives of the mother and the father. There are instances, too, where no relatives are involved. In these cases the stated reasons for adopting were that they wanted children, or were sorry for some child and feared that it would not be well treated under some new conditions, such as the remarriage of the father or mother. 597

It is said that girls and boys are equally desirable, likewise the children of either strangers or relatives. Although the great majority of children taken are boys, this does not seem to me significant, for one does not hear of girl babies being passed over. It is natural that most of the children should be taken by relatives since they would be the first to hear of the need for adoption. In many cases the families would be living close together, and it would mean very little adjustment for the child to settle in a new home. In one instance a baby and its father were living with the latter's father's sister and her husband, and when the father married again he just left the child with his aunt who adopted it. 587

Similarly, from the point of view of the foster family there is likely to be little disturbance of the household. There is constant visiting of both children and adults, and when a more permanent relationship is assumed it does not disrupt the existing conditions. 597 182 574

In the majority of cases when a child is introduced into a foster home there are no young children living there at the time. There may never have been any in that household or they may all have grown up and left. In the few instances where young children were still there, there seems to have been little disturbance. In one case a younger girl was adopted after a boy had been taken, and it was remarked that no conflict arose between them since they had previously been playmates, living near one another. I am inclined 597 593

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

frequently went into action entirely naked. The dress of the Blackfeet was very decent at all seasons, the body being entirely covered, the women being as sensitive to any exposure of the person as their white sisters. Little children, however, were sometimes allowed to run naked, though the girls were usually clothed as soon as they began to walk. When cotton and woolen stuffs were introduced by the traders the men took to their use quite readily, but the women were more conservative and it was long before they learned to substitute cotton or woolen for their former skin gown.

Dye Colors

The colors used in dyeing the porcupine quills, horsehair and feathers employed as trimming were red, yellow and black. The red was obtained from the bull berry, the yellow from the root of a plant, and the black apparently from pulverized lignite, of which they had an abundance in their country. These colors were prepared for use as a paint by mixing with glue obtained from the hoofs of the buffalo. With this compound they often lavishly ornamented buffalo robes, saddles, bags, lodges and shields with nude figures of people and animals. Other colors were introduced by the traders and readily adopted.

Head Covering

Neither men nor women ordinarily wore any covering on the head. For special occasions, however, the men were provided with war bonnets of elaborate workmanship. This consisted of a cap of buffalo hide, usually supporting a pair of horns jutting out from the sides in imitation of the buffalo, ornamented with feathers, porcupine quills, strips of ermine, horse hair, and frequently a long streamer hanging down behind reaching often nearly to the feet. The feathers were arranged in a row around the head, and, meeting behind, followed the streamer down the back, standing out like the teeth of a saw. The only feathers used were those of the American eagle, which were scarce and valuable; they were not dyed, but were often tipped with red horse hair streamers. The best war bonnets were very gaudy, often handsome, and were esteemed in value equal to a horse.

[86] [159] training which was characterized by the modal life history.[A] The young Blood of the past were also subject to such influences, influences preparing them for the specific problems of their environment and in the provincial terms of the early high prairie.

[855] [175] The natives of all these countries are fond of their children, they have faults like other children but are not corrected by being beat. Contempt and ridicule are the correctives employed, and they shame them, without breaking their spirit. And as they are all brought up in the open camp, the other children help in the punishment.[19]

Clearly, this is one way to build into the growing individual [178] a lively sense of shame. As indicated in the modal life history and in the discussion of the rejected I.A.'s, this sense of shame still exists. Correction by shaming and contempt can easily result in the avoidance of situations that [462] might be interpreted as status threatening. Therefore, the [562] young Blood-Blackfoot of the 1800's would avoid womanly work just as the young Blood of today shies away from indoor and other employment which would restrict his movement. One effect of this sense of shame is the following:

[181] [175] . . . but the Indian is very different . . . hence his whole life is in the enjoyment of his passions, desires and affections concentrated within a small circle, and in which it is often intense.[20]

[578] In this quotation can be seen the genesis of the contemporary Blood avoidance of aggression and unfriendliness and his readiness for immediate reward. The quotation also indicates that

A. [See Category 128, pp. 56-57; Category 159, pp. 57-59--Analyst]